

NAME DISPUTE BETWEEN GREECE AND MACEDONIA

(STUDENT PROJECT)

Editors:

Svetomir Shkaric

Dimitar Apasiev

Vladimir Patchev

Matica Makedonska

Skopje, 2009

Published by
Matica ĩ âââ nska
contact@matica.com.mk

About the Publisher
Rade Siljan

Project Leaders
Prof. Svetomir Shkaric Ph.D.
Prof. Tatjana Petrushevska Ph.D.

Editors
Svetomir Shkaric
Dimitar Apasiev
Vladimir Patchev

Printed by
Makedonija

The student project “*Name dispute between Greece and Macedonia*”
was approved by the Teachers’ Council of the Faculty of Law “*Iustinianus*
Primus” from Skopje, with the Resolution No. 02-300/6 from May 05, 2008.

*I had the chance to see works of Macedonian art,
beautiful icons and ceramics from Ohrid and other places.
I am especially touched by the survival of Macedonia,
which has been surrounded by stronger neighbors
for centuries...*

Martin Bernal
April 2009

CONTENTS

P R E F A C E	9
INTRODUCTION	
ATTRACTIVENESS OF MACEDONIA TO	
STUDENT SPIRIT	17
M A C E D O N I A	19
PART ONE	
DISPUTE OVER THE NAME MACEDONIA	
WITH GREECE	23
1	
HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF	
THE DISPUTE	
MACEDONIAN IDENTITY	
PARTITIONING OF MACEDONIA (1913)	25
ETHNIC IDENTITY OF MACEDONIANS	26
MACEDONIANS AND THE BIBLE	33
THE PARTITIONING OF MACEDONIA	
IN BUCHAREST (1913)	67
AEGEAN MACEDONIA	77
STUDENT ESSAYS	
IN THE SHADOW OF OLYMPUS -	
THE EMERGENCE OF MACEDON	103
THE MACEDONIAN KNOT	115
HUMAN ORDER – DECLINE	
AND RESURGENCE:	
MACEDONIA AND THE NAME	126
INTERVIEWS	
ETHNOGENESIS OF ANCIENT MACEDONIANS	136
2	
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL	
DIMENSION OF THE DISPUTE	
MINORITY RIGHTS IN GREECE	
THE MACEDONIAN PRIMER	147
MACEDONIANS IN GREECE	
AND HUMAN RIGHTS	148
ABECEDAR:	
MACEDONIAN PRIMER FOR AEGEAN	
MACEDONIANS	164
THE GREEK CHURCH AND	
THE NAME DISPUTE	169

HEXAGON OF CONFLICT SETTLEMENT AND THE GREEK-MACEDONIAN NAME DISPUTE ...	176
INTERVIEWS	
NEW APPROACH TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION OF MACEDONIANS IN GREECE	187
NAME DISPUTE AND MACEDONIAN MINORITY IN GREECE	195
3	
ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE DISPUTE	
GREEK EMBARGO	
COMMERCIAL VALUE OF THE NAME	197
THE COURSE AND MEANING OF THE GREEK EMBARGO AGAINST MACEDONIA	198
INTERVIEWS	
THE COMMERCIAL ASPECT OF THE “DISPUTE”	244
4	
LEGAL DIMENSION OF THE DISPUTE	
ACCESSION OF MACEDONIA TO UN	
SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE BEFORE THE ICJ	249
UN AND THE GREEK-MACEDONIAN NAME DISPUTE	250
THE UNITED NATIONS CANNOT IMPOSE NEW CRITERIA FOR ADMISSION OF COUNTRIES	261
MEMORANDUM OF GREECE AND MEMO-RANDUM OF MACEDONIA REGARDING ADMISSION OF MACEDONIA TO UNITED NATIONS	266
ARTIFICIAL INTERSTATE DISPUTE	279
INTERIM ACCORD AND ATTEMPT FOR AGREEMENT	290
PRECEDENT IN UN HISTORY	295
INTERVIEWS	
LEGAL SUBJECTIVITY AND ADMISSION TO UN	319
THE CHARACTER AND THE EFFECTS OF THE “INTERIM ACCORD”	324
PART TWO	
PROPOSALS FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT	327
1	
PROPOSAL FROM ICG	
(10. XII. 2001)	329
ICG COMPOSITION AND PROPOSAL FOR “SLAVIC TRANSCRIPTION” OF THE NAME	330
THE NAME BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE IN THE HAGUE	336
DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTORATE	362

INTERVIEWS THERE IS NO WAY OUT	
WITHOUT A DOUBLE FORMULA	366
THE CONCESSIONS ARE NOT A SOLUTION	371
THE ICG PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE FOR US	374
THE REQUEST OF GLIGOROV FOR ACCESSION	
OF MACEDONIA TO THE OUN	378
WHO WOULD CARE WHAT WOULD OUR NAME BE -	
IF WE ARE A MEMBER STATE OF THE EU!?	388
MAJOR HISTORICAL MISTAKE OF GLIGOROV	397
MACEDONIA SHOULD NOT WITHDRAW	402
THE NAME IS NOT AN ISSUE FOR NATO	406
STUDENTS' DEBATE WITH EDWARD JOSEPH	408
THE PROCESS IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN	
THE NAME SOLUTION	418
CONTACTS WITH THE OTHER REPRESENTATIVES	
OF THE ICG	421
CONTACT WITH FOREIGN EMBASSIES	
IN MACEDONIA	424

2

THE PROPOSAL BY MATHEW NIMITZ	
(9. XI. 2005)	429
WHO IS MATHEW NIMITZ!?	430
HOW WILL APOSTLE NIMETZ RENAME	
"THAT COUNTRY" IN THE BIBLE!?	440
STUDENT ESSAYS	
CRITIQUE OF THE NIMETZ "PROPOSAL"	443
CONDITIONS, SOLUTIONS AND OPINIONS	
ON THE "PROPOSAL BY NIMETZ"	449
ANOTHER EPISODE FROM THE SERIES OF	
PROPOSALS OF THE SO CALLED	
"INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY"	465
INTERVIEWS THE COUNTRIES CHOOSE	
THEIR NAMES BY THEMSELVES!	471
MEETING WITH NIKOLA DIMITROV	475

3

THE PROPOSAL BY MATTHEW NIMETZ	
(19. II. 2008)	479
"RAINBOW" LETTER TO NIMETZ	480
NIMETZ'S "NEW" IDEAS AND DIRECT INVOLVMENT	
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	484
MACEDONIA DISPUTE IS NOT ABOUT A NAME!	488
THE TERM MACEDONIA - DERIVATIVES	
AND ASSOCIATIONS	490
NIMETZ PROPOSALS AND THE CONSTITUTION	
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	493

STUDENT ESSAY	
MORPHOLOGICALLY TOTEMIC ANGER	499
4	
MATTHEW NIMETZ PROPOSAL	
(26 March 2008)	509
THE NAME AND THE “EXPERTS”	510
STUDENT ESSAYS	
ANOTHER “LAST” PROPOSAL	512
A CIRCLE THAT AROUSES RESENTMENT	
BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES	515
5	
GREEK VETO AT NATO BUCHAREST SUMMIT	
(2-4 April 2008)	521
WHAT HAPPENS AFTER BUCHAREST	522
THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE IS AT STAKE HERE,	
NOT THE NAME OF THE STATE	525
NAMING THE IDENTITY	528
THE HIDDEN “PASSIONS” OF A DISPUTE	532
INTERVIEW	
IF THERE WASN’T SUCH COUNTRY, IT SHOULD	
HAVE BEEN INVENTED	537
EU AND NATO PRESSURE FOR THE DISPUTE	
RESOLUTION	540
PART THREE	
DOCUMENTS	543
PEACE TREATY	
BETWEEN THE KINGDOM OF SERBIA,	
THE KINGDOM OF GREECE, THE KINGDOM	
OF ROUMANIA AND THE KINGDOM	
OF MONTENEGRO – ON THE ONE PART, AND	
THE KINGDOM OF BULGARIA – ON THE OTHER PART	
<i>Bucharest (July 28/ August 10, 1913)</i>	545
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DECLARATION ON FORMER	
YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	
<i>(Guimaraes, 1-2 May 1992)</i>	552
EUROPEAN COUNCIL DECLARATION ON FORMER	
YUGOSLAVIA	
<i>(Lisbon, 27 June 1992)</i>	553
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA ASSEMBLY DECLARATION	
ON THE LISBON DECLARATION	
<i>(Skopje, 3 July 1992)</i>	556
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA MINISTRY OF FOREIGN	
AFFAIRS MEMORANDUM RELATED TO	
THE ADMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	
TO THE UNITED NATIONS [AS REACTION TO	

THE <i>MEMORANDUM</i> OF GREECE-WHICH ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT THIS] (New York, 3 February 1993)	558
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KIRO GLIGOROV ADDRESSED TO THE UN SECRETARY – GENERAL (Skopje, 5 February 1993)	564
LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER BRANKO CRVENKOVSKI ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL (Skopje, 24 March 1993).....	566
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 817 (New York, 7 April 1993)	568
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 225 ON THE ADMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS (New York, 8 April 1993)	570
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KIRO GLIGOROV ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL (Skopje, 29 May 1993)	571
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 845 (18. June 1993)	574
LETTER FROM THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (New York, 13 July 1993).....	575
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION 845 (New York, 22 September 1993).....	576
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KIRO GLIGOROV ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF U.S.A. – BILL CLINTON (Skopje, 22 February 1994)	580
INTERIM ACCORD (New York, 13 September 1995)	583
MEMORANDUM ON “PRACTICAL MEASURES” RELATED TO THE INTERIM ACCORD OF 1995 (Skopje, 13 October 1995).....	597
MEMORANDUM ON THE MUTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF LIAISON OFFICES RELATED TO THE INTERIM ACCORD (Athens, 20 October 1995).....	604
AIDE-MÈMORIE REGARDING THE INAPPROPRIATE CONDUCT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GREECE	

TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA VIS-À-VIS THE INTERIM ACCORD OF 1995 (Skopje, 23 July 1996)	607
LETTER FROM THE UN SECRETARY–GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (New York, 10 November 1997)	611
LETTER FROM THE UN SECRETARY – GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (New York, 21 December 1999)	612
ICG BALKANS REPORT NO. 122 (SKOPJE / BRUSSELS 10 DECEMBER 2001)	614
ICG BALKANS REPORT NO. 122 (10 December 2001)	650
MEDIATOR MATTHEW NIMETZ OFFICIAL PROPOSAL (9 November 2005)	654
DRAFT DOCUMENTS (Ohrid, February 2008)	659
FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL FOR ADVANCING THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HELLENIC REPUBLIC AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	664
GREECE-MACEDONIA JOINT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND HISTORY	666
MEDIATOR MATTHEW NIMETZ OFFICIAL PROPOSAL -INTEGRAL BASIC TEXT- (19 February 2008)	668
MEDIATOR MATTHEW NIMETZ OFFICIAL PROPOSAL (26 March 2008)	672
BUCHAREST SUMMIT DECLARATION	674
MACEDONIA’S NAME: BREAKING THE DEADLOCK EUROPE BRIEFING NO. 52 (12 January 2009)	692
EPILOGUE	695
PARTICIPANTS	703
LIST OF ACRONYMS	713
INDEX	719

LEGAL DIMENSION OF THE DISPUTE

**ACCESSION OF MACEDONIA TO UN
SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE BEFORE THE ICJ**



*Macedonia's name change
w – ICG, December 2006*

PRECEDENT IN UN HISTORY⁴³⁸

Μονη θυτεον τη αληθεια, ει τιζ ιστοριαν γρασον εστι
For history, I say again, has this and this only for its own; if a
man will start upon it, he must
sacrifice to no God but Truth;
Lucian, II C

Chronology of a “dispute” (polemos)

I. Following the tensed and uneasy declaration of **independence of the Republic of Macedonia** and its separation from SFRY in 1991, its southern neighbor – Greece intensified the campaign to encroach *the Macedonian ancient past*.⁴³⁹

So, we can rightfully conclude that this artificially imposed so-called “dispute” is more deeply-rooted cultural and civilization phenomena, than legal phenomenon, originating from the 2nd century BC, to be more precise from 338 BC when on 2 August, Philip II of Macedonia at the Battle of Chaeronea defeated the Athens who had always “pejoratively” called the Macedonians *Barbarians*.⁴⁴⁰

In fact, Athens penetrated the Aegean part of Macedonia (which is presently located in Northern Greece) for the first time on 31 October 1912, as invader⁴⁴¹, on the basis of the Decree by the past Greek

⁴³⁸ The author of this essay is Dimche Apasiev. The subtitle of this paper is *Za s(k)ept i~kata jama vo cirkusot Zapaden Balkan - eksperimentot „Makedonija“* (*On the s(c)eptic pit in the circus Western Balkan – the experiment “Macedonia”*).

⁴³⁹ This aggressive campaign had actually started few years earlier i.e. in 1998 when Greece named its northern province with the term *Macedonia*. Some other activities followed in this direction, for example: the University in Thessalonica was named with the name “Macedonia”; the image of Alexander III Macedonian (note, the Great) was introduced on the past national currency – the drachmas; the printing of propaganda material with historical subjects in which Macedonia is presented as “Greek land” – and such posters, billboards and geographic maps can be found almost in all hotels in Greece where foreign tourists stay; the department for Northern Greece was renamed in “*Department for Macedonia and Thrace*”; the name of the airport in Kavala was also changed.

⁴⁴⁰ For more details see: N. Proeva, “The History of the Argeads” (*Istoriija na Agreadi te*), Grafotisk, Skopje (2004), as well as the text entitled “Ethnic Identity of the Macedonians” (*Etni-kiot identitet na Makedonci te*), by the authors S. Shkaric and Gj. Ivanov.

⁴⁴¹ Part of the *Declaration and appeal to the Macedonian people and the public international opinion*, which was adopted at the Conference at Vienna of the Macedonian political party VMRO (Obedineta) (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United))

King Georgios I (who actually according to his ethnic origin wasn't Greek, but Danish).⁴⁴² An interesting and historically true fact is that the first "Greek" king in 19th C – Otto I, who reigned from 1832 till 1863, was actually young Bavarian (German) prince, and throughout his three-decade long reign he was searching for a connection between his Bavarian kingdom in Greece and some "Greek" kingdom from the ancient times; since he could not find such connection – objectively, such connection cannot be found – he reached out for the Macedonian ancient history.⁴⁴³

II. In April 1992, the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia decided to submit an Application for admission of the Republic of Macedonia to UN membership. The past President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, in that time was publicly criticized by the opposition for delaying the submission of the Application for UN membership.⁴⁴⁴

Among other things, there is one interesting detail regarding the announcement to the public from the President's Cabinet saying:... *"the President has once again (!) submitted Application for admission of the Republic of Macedonia to UN..."*.

The same year, Greece in its position in the EC⁴⁴⁵, to be more precise on 27 June 1992 succeeded in securing the so-called Lisbon

in 1925, also witnesses the genocide of the Macedonian people and says: "... VMRO (United.) shall fight against the violent policy of the autocrats from Athens, who apply barbarian methods to destroy the Macedonian people: they kill Macedonian peasants (Trlis (Vathytopos), Butim (Kritharas), Livadishta(Livadaki)); rape, persecute and fiercely torture peaceful Macedonian craftsmen and workers; politically intimidate and economically rob the people, and they are supported in their actions by foreign capitalistic parties. They expel all people that are not of Greek nationality from their hearths, rob their properties in order to give the stolen items as presents to the emigrants from Anatolia, Caucasus and Thrace, to these people who are in similar situation as the Macedonian people and victims of the imperialistic policy of the Greek government and its patrons. VMRO (United) will fight against the dictatorship of the Greek authorities that like the Serbian and Bulgarian authorities strive perfidiously to alter the ethnic feature of the country and continue their work of assimilation and changing the nationality of the remaining Macedonian population!" (Source: **Pero Korobar** – Panko Brashnar, **Veles**, 1992; p. 49-50)

⁴⁴² Manifest, no. 9; 15 December 2002.

⁴⁴³ Angelina Markus: "Macedonian ancient values II" (*Makedonski drevni vrednosti II*); Skopje, 2003; p.9

⁴⁴⁴ Later, this was confirmed by the past UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, who on a press conference on 6 January 1993 confirmed that *"the country Macedonia has not submitted Application for admission."* Due to this, the Cabinet of Gligorov, on 8 January 1993 (two days right after the mentioned press conference) officially submitted the Application in procedure.

⁴⁴⁵ At present time, the European Union.

Declaration that says EC shall recognize our country with ...*a name that won't contain the word "Macedonia"*.⁴⁴⁶

III. On 8 April 1993, UN Security Council adopted a decision and admitted Macedonia into the United Nations under the reference "*the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*" (in Macedonian: *Porane { na Jugoslovenska Republika Makedonija*). The explanation was that the reference was only a provisional reference and it was for UN purposes only.⁴⁴⁷

However, this event presented an unseen precedent in the history of the United Nations, which cannot be justified under any reason, despite the real politically complicated situation in the period of the disintegration of SFRY, followed by bloody civil wars.⁴⁴⁸

The Resolution 817 under which the Republic of Macedonia was officially admitted to UN, has four archiving numbers, which is quite exclusive fact:

* S/25147 – the official *Application for admission to UN* is registered under this number;

* S/25541 – the accord by Macedonia to be addressed as "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" (signed by Branko Crvenkovski – the Prime Minister of the Macedonian Government at that time) is archived under this number;

* S/25542 – the accord by Greece regarding the reference (signed by Konstantinos Mitsotakis) is under this number;

* S/25543 – contains the disagreement Macedonia to be admitted to UN with a provisional name (signed by Kiro Gligorov in the capacity of President of the Republic of Macedonia).⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ On 12 July 1992, in the Republic of Macedonia, and all around the world in places populated by Macedonians, so-called Global pan-Macedonian protest meeting was held under the motto "*Yes, Republic of Macedonia – YES*" against the EC Declaration. An interesting fact is that back then the well-known Javier Solana was Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, one of the countries initiators for this declaration. You can see the whole text of this Lisbon Declaration in the Third part of this book "*Documents*".

⁴⁴⁷ The words of the President Gligorov regarding the provisional reference were the following: "*funny reference solely for couple of months...*"

⁴⁴⁸ With this situation the EU diplomacy faces a fiasco and complete collapse manifested, above all, through the inability to prevent this catastrophe in its Balkan neighbourhood. In order to wash its "sin" and to transfer the guilt to the so-called Balkan dictators, the so-called "International Community" establishes the famous and controversial *the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia* in the Netherlands.

⁴⁴⁹ *Fokus*; no. 511, 15 April 2005; p.10.

This precedent in UN history is composed of the following elements:

1) *Political abuse of the admission*: namely, the Republic of Greece, recalling the *UN Charter* whose purpose is “to maintain international peace and security and prevent the creation of crisis region”⁴⁵⁰ - through its diplomatic network managed to present its negative political positions towards Macedonia as possible threat upon the peace (actually, the existence of the state under the name Macedonia on the Greek northern border – according to Greece, would present “threat upon its territorial sovereignty” because its northern province carries the same name)?! This is actually an act of bringing a bilateral dispute to a level of procedural barrier for admission into a world organization, in spite of the fact that our country fulfilled all legal requirements for accession (which was confirmed with the *Report of the Badinter Commission* established by the EC, as well as with other *reports of UN missions* in Macedonia).⁴⁵¹

2) *Formal and legal abuse of the admission*, in other words, breach of procedure:

(a) Direct violation of Article 4 from the Charter by UN itself!⁴⁵² Namely, a name is not a condition for an existence of a state, a name is treated as an internal matter of a state!⁴⁵³

(b) “The effort” the dispute to be solved within the EC, which means on a regional level, is doomed to failure from the very beginning – one of the stakeholders in this matter (Greece) is a member of the international organization and holds a powerful weapon, and that is the right to veto.

(c) The admission to membership of a country under a so-called “provisional denomination” (reference) and with temporary absence of the country’s official flag in front of UN building.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ UN Charter; Article 1.

⁴⁵¹ *Me/unarodno javno pravo (International public law)*; Lj. D. Frchkovski, V. Tupurkovski and V. Ortakovski; Skopje 1995; p.62.

⁴⁵² According to the professor Dr. Ljubomir Frchkovski from the Faculty of Law “Iustinianus Primus” in Skopje, this precedent is already being studied in the books for International law at the Cambridge University, Great Britain.

⁴⁵³ For example, this can be seen from the data that Ukraine- as a former USSR member, informed the UN Secretary-General about the change of its name in “Republic of Ukraine” only with a note. Although, this example might seem inappropriate, still, it is a good illustration for the formally legal change of a country’s name.

⁴⁵⁴ Just as a recollection, the 16-pointed Macedonian sun of Kutlesh (Vergina), which has been eternal symbol of the Macedonians from ancient till present times, is in question – the flag was later changed under serious international pressure.

The UN Secretary-General, under whose auspices the negotiations on the differences over the name are still being held today in New York, first assigned Cyrus Vance, and later on the American Matthew Nimetz, who on the behalf of UN would mediate in finding*common solution acceptable for both parties*. An interesting fact about the latter is that in 1996 when he joined the negotiating team, as a representative of the US President, he came to the capital of Macedonia – Skopje in order to test the willingness of the Macedonian citizens to accept one more “compromise” to their detriment.⁴⁵⁵

IV. In February 1994, Greece, who was presiding the EC at that time, introduced the well-known “**embargo**” (16 February 1994)⁴⁵⁶ against the Republic of Macedonia, and it supported its injudicious measure by stipulating that its northern neighboring country refused to change its name, flag and Constitution, and it had ...*territorial pretensions* towards the northern provinces of Greece!?

The same year in April, the EC began court proceedings against Greece before the European Court of Justice, seated in Luxembourg, claiming that the act of Greece was in opposition to the *Treaty establishing the European Community*⁴⁵⁷ and requested adoption of provisional measures for suspension of this illegal trading ban. Unfortunately, the Court rejected this request made by the Commission.

V. On 13 August 1995, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, an “**Interim Accord**” was signed in New York (the seat of UN- USA) [between Greece and Macedonia]⁴⁵⁸ in which both parties (“*the Party of the First Part*” – Greece and “*the Party of the Second*”

⁴⁵⁵ In a short interview, together with the past Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Stevo Crvenkovski, Matthew Nimetz said: “*We have understanding for the feelings of the Greek people and your leadership!*” This statement shows that foreign diplomats with careers do not put the Macedonian people (as entity) and its feeling vis-à-vis the Greek people and its feelings – which for many Macedonians is bitter and frustrating feelings. By the way, this seemingly naï ve and gentle man is well-known lawyer from New York and financier of the Democratic party in USA, who officially does not receive any fee for this engagement, in other words he works “voluntarily”. (?!)

⁴⁵⁶ Unilateral economic blockade introduced in the time of Andreas Papandreou, from the party PASOK, who defeated Mitsotakis.

⁴⁵⁷ Source: *Memorandum on legal options for settlement of the name issue/Executive summary*; International Law and Policy Group, Boston and London (document labelled as: “restricted and confidential”!).

⁴⁵⁸ This Accord can be found as: *Interim Accord, Interim Agreement, Provisional Agreement (Vremena soglasnost, Vremena spogodba, Privremena soglasnost) etc.* However, for the purposes of this students’ project, we have agreed to use the term *Interim Accord* since we believe it to be the most appropriate.

Part” - Macedonia) agreed: ... to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to Security Council resolution 845 (1993) with a view to reaching agreement on the difference described in that resolution and in Security Council resolution 817 (1993).

This so-called *Interim Accord* was signed by Mr. Stevo Crvenkovski – Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia at that time (who was appointed to this post after the resignation of the previous minister Denko Maleski, who on the other hand was member of the first Macedonian “expert” Government) and Karolos Papoulias - Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Greece at that time. The Accord was intended to normalize the relations between the two neighboring countries.⁴⁵⁹

Although the Accord was ratified by the Macedonian Assembly on 9 October 1995, it was disputed before the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Macedonia by the opposition party at that time VMRO-DPMNE, whose leader was Ljubcho Georgievski. In the *complaint* it was stipulated that the Interim Accord was concluded by a representative of the Republic of Greece and a private person – Stevo Crvenkovski, on Macedonian behalf, and that it was a matter of Interim Accord and not of Interim Agreement! According to the initiators, this arises from the fact that the accord was not concluded on the behalf of the Republic of Macedonia, in other words, it was not signed by the President of the Republic of Macedonia nor by the President of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (the Prime minister), as determined within the Constitution of RM, and since it was not concluded on behalf of the independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia, or, by its authorized representatives - the initiator demanded full annulment of the first article from the *Law on Ratification of the Interim Accord signed between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece*, which, according to the initiators of the complaint, was not in accordance with the Constitution. However, the Constitutional Court decided not to deliberate on this complaint, in other words, it decided not to initiate a procedure for evaluation of the constitutionality of this law!?

⁴⁵⁹ Namely, after this Accord Greece lifted the so-called embargo imposed on Macedonia, and Macedonia, under strong international pressure, amended its Constitution and its national flag.

VI. In November 2004, **USA recognized the Republic of Macedonia** under its “constitutional name”.⁴⁶⁰ There are some matters that must be noted in this situation:

1. Official Washington recognized the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name only a day after the tight win of the President George Bush (Junior), and few days later the Spokesperson of the White House, Richard Boucher, announced that ... “*USA shall accept any name agreed by the parties together with Matthew Nimetz*”?!⁴⁶¹

2. The recognition happened in very “suspicious” moment – one day before the referendum against the territorial division of the Republic of Macedonia (during the so-called election silence before the referendum day), which was initiated by the past Macedonian opposition, in order to prevent “*ethnically-based decentralization in Macedonia*”.⁴⁶²

VII. The EU Commission in the **Report on the candidate status** for Macedonia, as of November 2005, concludes the following: “*...the dispute over the name has remained an open issue (...) and ...efforts should be intensified with a constructive approach in order to find rapidly a negotiated and mutually acceptable solution within the framework of UN Security Council Resolutions and in the interest of regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations..*”.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶⁰ This country was called Macedonia even in the times it had no Constitution, which means the name of the country does not arise from what has been written in the Constitution, as its highest legal act (the Macedonians called themselves Macedonians even in times they had no state, let alone constitution). The name of a country is only noted in its constitution, so as to tell the different constitutions of different countries, and it is not inaugurated or established. We can agree our complete and official name to be “Republic of Macedonia”, but our short and composite name is composed of only one word – Macedonia. Otherwise, we would be brought in a situation of linking the name to the form of government. And one more thing, the latest tendencies for settlement of the “dispute” are directed towards depriving Macedonia from the exclusivity on its name, which is at its own detriment – regardless of the fact that the entire world, even Greece itself, would recognize Macedonia under such so-called “constitutional name”.

⁴⁶¹ The government coalition at that time “For Macedonia” (SDSM, LDP, DUI) celebrated this pompously at the central city square “Macedonia” in the capital Skopje, whereas the opposition representatives (VMRO-DPMNE, VMRO-NP, LP, DA, the coalition TRETOT PAT and other minor non-parliamentary political parties) – judged all of this as “*purpose-oriented matter in order to prevent the referendum on decentralization of Macedonia*”.

⁴⁶² The Macedonian diplomats timidly and reservedly, such behavior initiated by the fear of provoking the aggressive Greek diplomacy, used the argument which undoubtedly would be in the benefit of the Republic of Macedonia; and the argument is that three of five Security Council member-states – China, USA and Russia had already recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name!

⁴⁶³ This extensive *Report*, in French *AVIS*, was adopted on 9 November 2005, and it is composed of 143 pages in total, and the quoted provision is on page 33 – in the section about the “*Relations with neighboring countries*”.

The Spokesperson of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Giorgos Koumoutsakos, emphasizing this section of the *Avis* said: *...This is a special success for the Greek diplomacy because for the first time the Greek request on the name issue has been included in an official document of the Union. This success is result of continuous and systematic efforts – silent, but effective... ”.*

And the Announcement by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs continues with the following: *“the European Commission’s opinion makes it perfectly clear that the integration of our neighboring country into EU will continue with the name ‘Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’. Our neighboring country must cooperate in the effort to find a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue, and thus this question is now officially a political criterion. The Greek position has always been such.... We have remained on our decision, having shown our willingness to be constructive...”* - the announcement says.⁴⁶⁴

However, the Macedonian politicians, from the lines of the governing party, as well as from the opposition, appeared to consciously ignore this statement of official Athens, with the explanation that this Greek opinion is: *“...for (its) internal use solely”*, and the *Avis* of the Commission concludes *“the actual situation...”*.⁴⁶⁵

VIII. Another matter that should be noted in the relations between Macedonia and Greece concerning the name is the so-called **Memorandum of the Greek Intellectuals** on rejection of the name FYROM – from 9 March 2006.

In the signed petition, published in the Athens daily newspaper *Eleftherotypia* – 56 progressive, left-oriented, Greek intellectuals declared that they have decided to call the northern neighbor the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name, regardless of the position of official Athens! They publicly announced that they would call Macedonia “the Republic of Macedonia” emphasizing that *“...we will disassociate from the state authorities and we will refer to the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name, that is, with its unique, legitimate and real name”*. In the signed text they announced that: *“The Republic of Macedonia is recognized by dozens of states, and what’s most important, it is established under this name in linguistic use and in the conscience of all people round the world, except among the Greek*

⁴⁶⁴ *Dnevnik*, no. 2 909; 11 November 2005, page 2.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

nationalists. (...)The term “Republic of Macedonia” is used in scientific books or congresses, all around the world. It would be impossible to change this situation.”

This petition was predominantly prepared by eminent, respected and above all successful people, who do not come only from Greece (Athens, Thessalonica, Ionia, Ioannina, Florina, Naousa, Icaria, Rethymno and Chios) but live, create and work in different states and cities in Europe, Australia and South America (Brussels/Belgium, Luxembourg/Luxemburg, Oslo/Norway, Rotterdam/Netherlands, Hamburg/Germany, Barcelona/Spain, London/Great Britain; Melbourne/Australia and Sao Paulo/Brazil), and have different education and come from different profiles, professions (academicians, university professors, scientists, doctor of sciences, master of sciences, postgraduates, professors, teachers, historians, engineers, practitioners, psychiatrists, architects, lawyers, attorneys, philosophers, editors, journalists, students, marketing agents, trade unionists, bankers, retailers, private entities, translators, physicists, administrative officers and academic painters).

IX. The relations between the two neighboring countries, Greece and Macedonia, concerning the name, were highlighted in the end of 2006 (the beginning of 2007), when the Macedonian Government⁴⁶⁶, in the course of the New Year and Christmas holidays spread an information in the media that the main, and biggest, **Macedonian international airport “Petrovec”**, near the capital Skopje, would be renamed after “Alexander the Macedonian”! The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs immediately reacted to this position, directly through the minister Dora Bakoyannis.⁴⁶⁷ Following this event, the Macedonian Government partly changed its intention, and as “compromise” chose the name “Alexander the Great”, with quite unusual explanation that ...*the translation into English would be easier and it would be more comprehensible to the foreigners!*?

The Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs - Mrs. Bakoyannis, fiercely reacted to this, and announced to the Greek media a possible revision

⁴⁶⁶ It is the new Government composed of representatives of the following political parties: VRMO-DPMNE, DPA, NSDP and DOM, whose Prime Minister was Nikola Gruevski. The political elites of both neighboring countries, regardless of their political provenance, have reached so-called “gentlemen’s agreement” that the name issue would not be brought into light in the years for elections (whether in Macedonia or in Greece).

⁴⁶⁷ Former Mayor of the capital of Greece – Athens, who demonstrated her capabilities in the course of the Summer Olympic Games in Athens (SOG). This widow is a daughter of the famous K. Mitsotakis.

of the *Interim Accord* concluded between the two countries in 1995 in New York. Namely, in an interview, published in the newspaper *Ethnos*, she says: "...the violation of certain aspects of the *Interim Accord* opens the issue of revision".⁴⁶⁸

Contrary to this, the Macedonian younger counterpart, Antonio Miloshoski, Minister for Foreign Affairs of RM Government, defending the position of the Macedonian Government regarding the renaming of the Skopje airport, stated for the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* that the renaming was not an act of provocation directed at Greece and he didn't expect this event to complicate the discussions about the name between the two countries. Further on, he added that Alexander the Macedonian was a person of greater civilizational significance, or that "...he has the same meaning as Charlemagne has to the Europeans"! In the mentioned interview, Miloshoski sends a message to Athens not to expect crucial changes by the new Macedonian Government in the already known positions for the so-called "double formula" (one name for the whole world, i.e. *erga omnes*, and another name "mutually acceptable solution" for bilateral communication with Greece, i.e. *Inter partes*) –concerning the name issue. Regarding the remarks that Athens blames Skopje for not willing to make compromise in the position about the name, which actually threatens to present an obstacle for the integration of Macedonia in the Euro-Atlantic structures, Miloshoski replied: "Just try to imagine that the name of your country is being disputed and Greece is under strong pressure to change its constitutional name, a name chosen by the people, and you will better understand the position of the Republic of Macedonia".

In the political analyses of the Greek newspaper *Eleftherotipia* it was said that the revised segments of the *Interim Accord* (1995) would mean aggravation of the relations between the two countries, andif Greece proposes change of the interim solution, this would make room and give opportunity to FYROM to ask from the UN to be recognized under its constitutional name, and greater part of UN members have already bilaterally recognized the country under the name Macedonia".

A Greek intellectual, the professor Loukas Tsoukalis - president of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, in his opinion presented to the Macedonian daily newspaper *Dnevnik* points out: "I have always believed that it is in the interest of the two countries to establish close relations, based on mutual respect. I have also

⁴⁶⁸ *Dnevnik*, no. 3 272; 23 January 2007, pages 1 and 2.

been in favor of rapid and mutual solution of the name dispute, because “putting off till tomorrow” is not a wise policy, although it might be understandable in terms of the politicians who want to avoid political responsibility by concluding any type of compromise.”

A series of “scandals” and diplomatic gaffs occurred one by one after the abovementioned events. Namely, Greece immediately initiated a meeting with the mediator in the dispute - Matthew Nimetz, who instantly went first to Athens, and afterwards to Skopje - although the politicians commented that this was a “*regular meeting with the mediator which had already been planed*”. Afterwards, some unusual events followed:

a) on 22 January 2007, under the pressure of the Greek diplomacy, at the parliamentary session at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (France), the Macedonian signs and symbols were removed from the place where Macedonian reports should've sat – the Macedonian parliamentary group reacted to this. The following day, on 23 January 2007, after the speech by the Greek Prime minister Kostas Karamanlis, the former Macedonian Minister for Foreign Affairs - Ilinka Mitreva, asked the Greek Prime minister: *Whether he was willing to find a rational solution to an irrational problem?*, and his reply was the following: “*...I myself am a Macedonian, and another 2.5 million Greeks are Macedonians, so the question cannot be considered unilaterally*”!⁴⁶⁹

This statement provoked the President of the Republic of Macedonia – Branko Crvenkovski, who the very following day, on 24 January 2007, at a press-conference, to a reporter's question to comment on Karamanlis' speech at the Council of Europe said: ... “*If Karamanlis feels like Macedonian, we shall respect that, but we expect the same respect by Greece towards the Macedonian people*”;

b) on 23 January 2007, during a promotion of the project: *Invest in Macedonia* New business heaven in Europe,⁴⁷⁰ the Macedonian Prime

⁴⁶⁹ By the way, Kostas Karamanlis was indeed born in the settlement Kjudki, situated near Serres and Drama in occupied Aegean Macedonia. After this, OMPEM – “Organization of the Macedonian Descendants from the Aegean part of Macedonia” seated in Bitola, published an announcement saying: ... “*we delightfully accepted the public declaration of the Greek Prime Minister as Macedonian by origin. Such democratic gesture gave us the right to register him in OMPEM, and the membership card shall be sent to his home address*” (Source: *Vest*).

⁴⁷⁰ The Government project “*Invest in Macedonia – the New Business Heaven in Macedonia*” was projected as pre-campaign for attracting foreign direct investments in Republic of Macedonia, by informing the foreigners about the advantages for investing in Macedonia, through publishing commercials and information in most circulated daily newspapers in thirty countries around the world (EU, USA, Japan, Russia, China and others).

Minister Nikola Gruevski, at a press-conference held in the Government, stated that they as a Government had encountered problems during the attempt to lease commercial space in the Greek newspapers *Kathimerini* and *To vima*, which refused to publish the text containing the word Macedonia – which was a result of the tensed Macedonian – Greek relations following the renaming of the Skopje airport;

c) on 26 January 2007, in the center of Athens the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare⁴⁷¹ caused a diplomatic incident when at the promotion of his two latest novels, translated into Greek language, used the word “Macedonia” referring to the present Republic of Macedonia. After this, the mayor of Athens, Nikitas Kaklamanis, who few minutes earlier had sincerely greeted and praised the Albanian writer, demonstratively left the event.

X. The relations between the two neighboring countries in terms of the name were once again highlighted in the first quarter of 2008. As the so-called Bucharest Summit of NATO approached, the pressure of the so-called “international community”⁴⁷² for solution of this “dispute” evidently increased:

a) On 19 February 2008, in Athens, the mediator Matthew Nimetz tabled new official **Proposal in nine items** containing five names.⁴⁷³ Both parties refused this proposal which was assessed by many world analysts as “pro-Greek”. Namely, both parties remained on their positions. Greece demanded complex name with geographical reference for international use (*erga omnes*), and Macedonia on the other hand asked for the so-called “double formula” – the name Republic of Mace-

⁴⁷¹ Ismail Kadare is one of the most famous contemporary Albanian authors, who lives in Paris, France and was nominated for Nobel Prize in Literature in 2005. This part refers to the promotion of Greek editions of the novels *Agamemnon's Daughter* (2005) and *The Successor* – the latter, as the Albanian daily newspaper *Shqip* announced, was sponsored by Piraeus Bank that owns branch offices in neighboring Albania. However, some other rumors are associated with the background and works of the “controversial” Kadare, who is considered as open representative of the Great Albanian tendency in Tirana. Namely, the banished Albanian academic, who lives in Geneva, Professor Dr. Kaplan Resuli – Burovich (considered to be “the Albanian Nelson Mandela”) stated that Kadare as favorite, follower and main ideologist of the dictator Enver Hoxha, was launched to the West by Ramiz Alia and the widow of E. Hoxha, with well planned mission.

⁴⁷² The so-called “international community” was the embodiment of USA, and the latter had recognized the Republic of Macedonia under its “constitutional name”, however they ...further supported the process for overcoming the differences regarding the name let under the auspices of UN!?

⁴⁷³ See text below.

donia for the entire world + mutually acceptable name for bilateral communication with Greece (inter partes);

b) The Macedonian Government⁴⁷⁴ responded to this with intensive **campaign in world daily newspapers** where it explained that Greece was not able to put a veto (ban) on the admission of Macedonia under its “provisional name” in any international organization, referring to the *Interim Accord* between the two countries from 1995;⁴⁷⁵

c) In this tensed period, information was spread through the world and local media that the US administration would directly get involved in the negotiations, and would even appoint its own direct negotiator, what’s more, the name of Victoria Nuland - US ambassador to NATO was mentioned;

d) This information was followed by many intensive **ambassadorial and ministerial meetings** in New York, Vienna and Brussels. In Vienna, on 17 March 2008, the mediator Matthew Nimetz tabled three proposals that were qualified as “pro-Greek” proposals, however his official position after the meeting with the ambassadors Vasilakis (Greece) and Dimitrov (Macedonia) was that there were no new proposals and that he was optimist concerning the settlement of the issue before the NATO Summit. He encouraged both parties to intensify the negotiations in the following days and invited them to a next meeting in New York;⁴⁷⁶

e) **the last official proposal by Nimetz** before the NATO Summit was “Republic of Macedonia (Skopje)”, as a name for international use – tabled on 26 March 2008 in New York. The Greek party refused this proposal immediately as ... “*distant from the objectives of Greece*”, whereas the Macedonian party qualified it as ... “*final ultimate proposal after 17 years of negotiations*”, according to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of RM - Antonio Miloshoski.

⁴⁷⁴ The Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski (VMRO-DPMNE; DPA and NSDP) was at the head of the Government. The move by Menduh Taxhi was symptomatic - two weeks before the NATO Summit in Romania – the leader of the Albanian party DPA in the Government coalition (who was also on the so-called USA “Black list”) left the Government coalition; this provoked a series of “theories” about which foreign structures are behind this move for “the fall” of the Government (Greek, American or others)

⁴⁷⁵ The Accord in its original form is enclosed in the last (third) section of this book, titled as *Documents*.

⁴⁷⁶ An interesting fact is that some of the meetings were not held in UN headquarters, but in the law office of the mediator Nimetz?

XI. The last event when the relations between Greece and Macedonia in terms of the name issue⁴⁷⁷ were highlighted was the so-called **Bucharest Summit** on NATO enlargement (2-4 April 2008). I would briefly mention the main events related to this NATO Summit:

a) at the dinner of heads of states and governments, the Greek Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis, who had previously had fierce discussion with the US President George Bush, tabled the proposal “Republic of Skopje (Macedonia)” which was refused by the Macedonian delegation as inappropriate proposal.⁴⁷⁸

b) Greece used its announced right to “veto” and thus it prevented the admission of Macedonia into NATO, i.e. it divided the so-called “Adriatic Group” (Croatia + Albania + Macedonia). This was done at the informal dinner of the heads of states and governments of NATO member states, on 2 April 2008, and it was officially announced the following day by the NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer;

c) At the press conference, the Macedonian reporters left the hall as a sign of protest. The same day, the Macedonian state delegation⁴⁷⁹ did the same and prematurely left the Summit.

d) After the initial euphoria in Greece, a series of undesired events, and the so-called “silent trading war” between the two countries took place:

- on 7 April 2008, unknown ultra-nationalistic armed Greek group published shots of masked people with weapons uttering insulting threats for the Macedonian people;

- on 8 April 2008, the house of the priest/father Nikodim Tsarnkias was stoned, ethnic Macedonian from Aegean Macedonia, who was expelled from the Greek Orthodox Church because he gave liturgy in Macedonian language;

- on 9 April 2008, the president of EFA Rainbow - organization of the Macedonians in Greece, and a pioneer in the fight for human rights of the Macedonians in Greece - Pavle Filipov Voskopoulos suffered a stroke and was transferred to intensive care in hospital in Florina,

⁴⁷⁷ This happens in the end of the first quarter of 2008 when we were actually completing this project.

⁴⁷⁸ Nikola Gruevski’s address to the nation on 12 April 2008, broadcasted on MTV – when the decision for self-dissolution of the Macedonian Parliament was brought, a precedent in the Macedonian political history.

⁴⁷⁹ The official delegation was composed of 50 members, but there was no representative of the opposition.

in a critical condition.⁴⁸⁰ Some Greek left-oriented media announced that grounded suspicions existed that he was poisoned by the secret services of Greece. The event took place at his office, and the poisoning had been caused by unknown substance poured into a drink.⁴⁸¹

- on 13 April 2008, unknown group placed the Greek flag on the Macedonian church in Florina by force. The flag was pushed down by a strong wind, to which father Tsarnkias, during a visit by a delegation of the Association of Macedonians expelled from the Aegean part of Macedonia, commented “...even God is on Macedonian side”;

- on 14 April 2008, at an international conference in Athens staged by Diplomacy Magazine, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs Dora Bakoyannis, provoked by a previous act of the Macedonian ambassador to Greece - Blagoj Handzhiski, stated that “... Greece will exercise its right to veto even during the setting of the date for start of the negotiations for EU accession of the neighboring country”⁴⁸²

- on 16 April 2008, before Christmas, Greece de facto (but not de iure) banned the traditional import of lamb from the Republic of Macedonia, demanding from the butcher’s shops to issue special declaration explicitly stating that the meat comes from FYROM;

- on 17 April 2008, the Hellenic Civil Aviation Administration banned the Macedonian airliner MAT to fly over Greek territory, so the Macedonian company cancelled all charter flights to the Greek islands;⁴⁸³

- on 3 May 2008, the Greek authorities banned all bank transactions (monetary remittance) towards Republic of Macedonia, which were previously realized via the branch offices of Western Union;

- on 10 May 2008, Macedonian transporters were ill treated on Greek territory by a group of 50-60 Greek citizens, who besides denigrating the transporters made them remove the stickers MK from their

⁴⁸⁰ TV Sitel, news program *Dnevnik*; 9.IV. 2008.

⁴⁸¹ It is interesting that the Government did not react to this event, although few days earlier, after an intervention by the Greek MFA, a painting by a Macedonian artist was removed from the billboards in Skopje because the painting included swastika painted in the Greek flag, and thus Macedonia directly violated the constitutionally guaranteed *freedom of expression* of its own citizens for the sake of good-neighborly relations!?

⁴⁸² TV A1 and TV Kanal 5; news program *Dnevnik*; 14.IV. 2008.

⁴⁸³ Although this wasn’t something unusual since previously MAT was not allowed to fly in the Greek air space, still this was the first time the reason for the ban to be declared – the name of the national flag carrier airline?! After this event, the Macedonian Ministry of Transport and Communications sent a Protest Note to Greece.

tracks. The Greek police was present at the scene, however it did not react?!

- on 3 June 2008 NATO apologized to Macedonia for a Greek officer, who during a military drill in France made two Macedonian officers take off their uniforms because the word “Macedonia” was written on them;

- on 4 June 2008, Greek contingent of KFOR attempted to enter the Republic of Macedonia without the necessary technical documentation, during which some insulting words were addressed to the Macedonian customs officers;

- on 5 June 2008 the Macedonian President Branko Crvenkovski was not allowed to land in Athens to participate in the SE Europe Heads of State Summit because the word “Macedonia” was written on the plane;

- on 6 June 2008, at the crossing point Dojrani on the Greek-Macedonian border, four Macedonian truck drivers were humiliated by being made to broom the crossing point so that they could exit from Greece;

- on 16 June 2008, at a closed meeting of the foreign ministers of EU member states, the Slovenian Chairman Dimitri Rupel and the Greek chief of diplomacy Dora Bakoyannis clashed, so Rupel interrupted Bakoyannis and cynically reprimanded her for opening the so-called “Pandora’s box”;

- on 18 June 2008 the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dora Bakoyannis promoted the book *Macedonian Identities in Time* by the controversial Greek “historian” Evangelos Kofos, known by his negative position towards the Macedonians;

- on 24 June 2008, the Macedonian Information Agency (MIA) was not accepted as member in the Alliance of Mediterranean News Agency as a result of the protest by the Cyprus Agency, whose representative was a Secretary General of the Alliance as well and had previously received “instructions” from Greek side;

- on 25 June 2008, the Greek national guards, integral part of the Greek Army, in the area of Florina, where significant number of the Macedonian minority in Northern Greece resides, conducted provocative military drills under the slogan “*Macedonia is one and Greek!*”;

- on 27 June 2008 in ALTEA mission within EUFOR, it was ordered the international code of the Republic of Macedonia “MKD” to be replaced with “FYROM”, to which the Macedonian Foreign Minister – Antonio Miloshoski reacted. However, Javier Solana – High

Representative for the EU Foreign Policy did not apologize about the scandal, as Jaap de Hoop Scheffer – NATO Secretary General did few days earlier;

- on 4 July 2008, the US ambassador to Athens Speckhard, when addressing to the American citizens of Greek origin used the name “FYROM” although USA had previously recognized the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name;

- on 10 July 2008, the Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski sent an *open letter* to the Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis in which he treated the so-called “The question of Aegean Macedonia”. Afterwards, similar letters were sent to Jose Manuel Barroso - President of the European Commission, who in his replay he declared himself as incompetent for solving minority issues!?. On 15 August 2008, letter with similar content was sent by the Macedonian President of the Assembly – Trajko Veljanovski, addressed to his counterparts in EU member states;

- on 20 July 2008, around sixty neo-Nazis from the ultra-right Greek organization “Hrisi Avgi” prevented representatives of the folklore ensemble “Ilinden”, composed of Macedonian emigrants in Australia, to enter in Greece; this folklore ensemble were supposed to participate in the so-called Ilinden meeting traditionally held every year at the fair in the village Meliti (Ovcharani) (Florina Prefecture). In spite of the reports, the Greek police did not intervene!?.;

- on 11 August 2008, the Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski sent an *open letter* to the UN special envoy – Matthew Nimetz requesting the question about the Macedonian Orthodox Church to be included in the negotiations with Greece;

- in the course of August 2008, a “special war” occurred between the posts of Greece and Macedonia. Namely, the Greek post did not accept the letters with Macedonian toponyms, whereas the Macedonian post did not accept the letters with the reference FYROM, and thus a chaos was created in the post communication;

- in August 2008, the Macedonian Parliament adopted *the Resolution on refugees* from Aegean Macedonia;

- on 15 September 2008, two independent UN experts on minority issue (one of them being Gay McDougal) visited Northern Greece and had a meeting in Florina with the representatives of the Macedonian party “Rainbow”;

- on 15 October 2008, the Greek security forces clashed with demonstrators, Greek citizens of Macedonian ethnic origin from Florina

prefecture because the people protested against the usurpation of their lands by the Greek Army to perform unannounced military drills. Four people were severely injured in this intervention. The reporters from Republic of Macedonia who reported about the event were apprehended by the Greek Police;

- on 22 October 2008, Greece announced that it had succeeded to secure withdrawal of the recognitions of Congo and Mexico regarding the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia, whereas, few days later Macedonia announced that it managed to secure the recognition of the country under its constitutional name by India;

- on 29 October 2008, the Greek Army in Thessalonica, at an official parade in front of the diplomatic corps and foreign military attaches in Greece, exclaimed nationalistic paroles like “*Macedonia is Greek - we won't give it to Skopje!*” to which none of the NATO and EU representatives expressed any official protest!?

- on 4 November 2008, the Macedonian negotiator about the name – Nikola Dimitrov was withdrawn from this function by the President of Macedonia, Branko Crvenkovski, who previously did not consult the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, explaining that by including Martin Protugjer –Chief of Gruevski's Cabinet, the Government was pulling down the positions of the Republic of Macedonia. The Macedonian ambassador to USA – Zoran Jolevski was appointed at this position;

- on 17 November 2008, the Republic of Macedonia filed a lawsuit against Republic of Greece before the International Court of Justice in Hague, due to the violation of *the Interim Accord* (1995) with the Greek veto at the NATO Summit in Bucharest, in April 2008;

- in January 2009, Greece cancelled a grant of 50 million dollars for the corridor “North-South” because the Government of the Republic of Macedonia renamed the highway “Tabanovce-Gevgelija” (E-75) into “Alexander the Macedonian” and the stadium in Skopje in “Philip II”. Few days after its fierce reaction against the “encroaching of the ancient past” Greece announced that it would finance construction of a gigantic monument of Alexander the Great in Iraq, to honor the Battle of Gaugamela!?

- on 11 February 2009, the Greek lobby in EUROCONTROL managed to secure this international organization to ask the sole Macedonian carrier – Macedonian Airlines (MAT) to change the name of the company so as not to have further problems with its outstanding debts;

- on 13 February 2009, the Greek court in Florina sentenced Macedonian cameraman from Bitola to suspended imprisonment and a fine with confiscation of his equipment, solely because he shot his cousin's wedding in Aegean Macedonia (Northern Greece);

- on 15 February 2009, Greece announced protests to the highest levels, to the UN Secretary-General and to other international institutions and head of states, against the promoted video "Macedonia Timeless" by the director Milcho Manchevski because of the use of ancient symbols in the video!?

**(Un)official proposals for
settlement of the "name issue"**

The Historian ...ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid vera non audeat
(must not dare to say anything false, he must dare to say anything
true)!

C i c e r o, 1st century BC

I. Names not including the word "Macedonia":

The unofficial proposals that did not include the word "Macedonia" often came from Republic of Macedonia's neighboring countries:

1) Greek-Serbian sources:

* **"Central Balkan Republic" – 1992;**

* **"Republic of South Slavia" – 1992;**

* **"Republic of South Serbia" – 1992;**

* **"Republic of Skopje" – 1993:** these proposals deny the existence of Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian people, separating it from *Macedonia* and identifying it with larger geographical and cultural groups (i.e. the Balkans, Slavs, Serbs, etc.);

2) Albanian sources:

* **"Vardaria" – 1995:** unofficial proposal from some Macedonian politicians and quasi-intellectuals from the Albanian national minority in Republic of Macedonia. The media was not interested enough in this proposal and it was not seriously considered, thus it did not receive much media attention;

3) Bulgarian sources:

* **"Southwest Bulgaria" – 2008:** unofficial Bulgarian proposal made by ultra-nationalist movements in Republic of Bulgaria.

II. Names including the word “Macedonia”:

* **“The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” – 1992** (in Macedonian language and written in Cyrillic letters “*Porane {na(ta) Jugoslovenska Republika Makedonija*”). This is the official, current name of our country under which it has been admitted to UN. In the time this reference was accepted, the Macedonians were been persuaded that regardless of the number of words or references written before the name “Macedonia”, the communication would continue to be carried out, “*due to practical reasons*”, with the use of the last word of the coinage, that is the word Macedonia. However, there is a remaining dilemma why this ridiculous long coinage hasn’t been reduced to “Macedonia”, but it has been reduced to “FYROM” (or in Macedonian “PJRM” or “BJRM”) – which has become common reference used by everyone, including UN!?,⁴⁸⁴

* **“Republic of Macedonia – Skopje”** (*Republika Makedonija - Skopje*) - 1992 (proposal made by Constantine Mitsotakis, who was the Head of the Government of Greece led by New Democracy, which later on lost the next parliamentary elections under the pressure of the Greek public). The proposal was tabled by the Greek Prime Minister on the meeting with the President of the Assembly of Republic of Macedonia at the time – Mr. Stojan Andov, held in Davos, Switzerland during the World Economic Forum in February 1992.⁴⁸⁵ In addition, the first mediator in the “dispute” – Mr. Cyrus Vance favored this proposal. In fact, this idea is quite perfidious since if we consider the aforecited explanation that the last word is generally used as shortened formula, then the conclusion is that the name would be reduced only to “Skopje”;

* **“Independent Macedonia”**

“Slavic Republic of Macedonia” – 1992: this was unofficial name proposal in the so-called “Pinheiro package”, according to the

⁴⁸⁴ According to the past statements made by Kostas Karamanlis from the conservative party New Democracy, this name was acceptable to Greece and there would be no objections if Macedonia applied this name in the process of integration in the EU. However, following the parliamentary elections and the “narrow majority” in the Greek Parliament, he drastically changed his position – threatening that Greece would exercise the power of veto if mutually acceptable solution was not found!?

⁴⁸⁵ Source: *Annual Book of the Faculty of Law “Iustinianus Primus” in honor of PhD, Professor Todorka Orovcianec*, volume 42, page 677, Skopje 2006. The quoted text is part of the paper of MA Misho Dokmanovic titled *Politička i ta na sosedni te zemji vo odnos na osamos t ojuvawe t o na Republika Makedonija* (The policy of the neighboring countries regarding the independence of Republic of Macedonia).

Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs João de Deus Pinheiro in the capacity of EC Chairperson;

* **“New Macedonia” – 1993:** the Greek media claimed, according to “...reliable sources from Athens” known only to them, that this was one of the three names proposed by the mediator in the dispute at the time Mr. Cyrus Vance.⁴⁸⁶ Indeed, it soon turned out that Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance suggested the name as possible compromise.⁴⁸⁷

* **“Republic of Macedonia (Skopje)” (.....) – 1993** (suggested by Mr. Kiro Gligorov, but originally proposed by Robin O’Neil for the settlement of the dispute). The explanation of the proposal was that the use of brackets instead of dash would eliminate the “cuckoo in the nest” trap – Skopje to be generally accepted name of the state;

* **“Slavomacedonia” – 1994** (unofficial proposal released in the public by certain reporters who, according to some speculations, were instructed by the President of the Assembly of Republic of Macedonia at the time, Mr. Stojan Andov). The explanation was that “*such was the name of the people in Aegean Macedonia and they did not oppose to it*”!⁴⁸⁸ The proposal is considered to be a “Greek trickery”.

* **“North Macedonia” – 1994** (unofficial *German proposal* for overcoming the “name differences”). In August 1994, the Greek media reported on a new German proposal for settlement of the name dispute. The Head of German’s Diplomacy in that time, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel, suggested a Plan (in six items) for settlement of the dispute, which included two alternatives for the name formula: “New Macedonia” or “North Macedonia”. This proposal was also rejected;⁴⁸⁹

* **“Upper Macedonia” – 1999/2000** (the proposal was put forward by the former Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis at a press conference in Skopje at the Aleksandar Palace Hotel in the time when his Macedonian counterpart was Mr. Ljubcho Georgievski, and PhD

⁴⁸⁶ Daily newspaper: Nova Makedonija, 11 November 1995.

⁴⁸⁷ See *Report of Boutros Ghali to Security Council*, registered in the UN archives under No. S/25855

⁴⁸⁸ Again, this shameful proposal was connected only to the messenger while the creators were kept in the dark.

⁴⁸⁹ *Annual Book of the Faculty of Law “Iustinianus Primus”* volume 42, page 679, Skopje 2006 (MA Misho Dokmanovic – *Politika ta na sosedni te zemji vo odnos na osamos t ojuvawe to na Republ ika Makedonija* (The policy of neighboring countries regarding the independence of Republic of Macedonia)).

Vasil Tupurkovski was coalition partner of the latter). The proposal was widely criticized by the Macedonian public;⁴⁹⁰

* **“Republika Makedonija” – 2001** (a proposal from the ICG given in a symptomatic time, shortly after the signing of the imposed Ohrid Framework Agreement). At first glance, this is the constitutional name of the state, however it is not translated in English, only transcribed into Latin alphabet instead. The aim is quite obvious: Greece wants to keep exclusive possession of the name *Makedonija*, in English *Macedonia* (not *Makedonija*), by recognizing the above-mentioned name proposal and thus use the name *Makedonija* (Macedonia) for cultural, historical, commercial and tourism purposes while our state is de facto and de iure named - *Republika Makedonija*. In fact, the intention of this proposal is to divide the historical heritage of Macedonia in two periods, one until the 6th century and one from the 6th century onwards, and in doing so, the Macedonians would acquire the Slavic history, culture and archaeology, whereas the Greeks would get everything else – appearing as ostensible legitimate successor of the Ancient Macedonian State;⁴⁹¹

* **“Republika Makedonija“**

“Republic of Macedonia“

“Republika Makedonija - Skopje“ - 2005 – accompanied by a long and fuzzy footnote, and several other short and medium *revision terms* (official proposal by the mediator Matthew Nimetz). The proposal faced immediate “frontal” rejection by the Greek side, for being “American cunning”, whilst the Head of the Macedonian Government at the time, PhD Vlado Buchkovski, labeled the proposal as “*solid basis for continuation of talks*” and “*elaborated double, not triple, formula*”;⁴⁹²

* **“Constitutional Republic of Macedonia“** (*Us t avna Republika Makedonija*);

“Democratic Republic of Macedonia“ (*Demokra t ska Republika Makedonija*);

“Independent Republic of Macedonia“ (*Nezvisna Republika Makedonija*);

⁴⁹⁰ The explanatory argument was that the ancient kingdom of Macedon included the names of “Upper” and “Lower” Macedonia.

⁴⁹¹ If we accept this proposal, the Macedonian equivalent of United States of America per analogiam would be “*D Junajtet Stejts of Amerika*” – which is absurd!

⁴⁹² *Vreme*; 13 November 2005 (D.A.).

“New Republic of Macedonia“ (*Nova Republika Makedonija*); or

“Republic of Upper Macedonia“ (*Republika Gorna Makedonija*); – 2008 (Athens) – including the so called **“framework plan”** consisted of 9 items (official proposal by the mediator Matthew Nimetz made just before the NATO Summit related to the enlargement of the Alliance by the admission of the countries from the “Adriatic Group”, that is from the Western Balkans (Croatia, Albania and Macedonia);⁴⁹³

* **“New Republic of Macedonia”** (*Nova Republika Makedonija*);

“Republic of Upper Macedonia” (*Republika Gorna Makedonija*);

“Republika Makedonija (Skopje)” (*Republika Makedonija - Skopje*) – 2008 (Vienna) – (unofficial proposal by the mediator Matthew Nimetz): the official position was that Nimetz did not offer any proposals to the Ambassadors Vasilakis and Dimitrov, at the consultation in Vienna, however the media published these three proposals making remarks that they were presented under direct tutelage of the US administration;

* **“Republic of Macedonia (Skopje)”** (*Republika Makedonija (Skopje)*) – 2008 (New York) – (the last official proposal by the mediator Matthew Nimetz):⁴⁹⁴ the Greek party turned down this proposal without delay for being “... far from Greece’s pursued objectives”, whereas the Macedonian party described it as “...a final proposal after 17 years of talks, on which the highest state authorities will form its position”. However, the position was not established before the NATO Summit due to the diverse opinions of the President Crvenkovski and the Prime Minister Gruevski;⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ The proposal caused minor crisis in the Greek Government, following its publication in the Greek media, about the “culprit” responsible for the leakage of confidential information (whether the culprit was someone close to the Prime Minister K. Karamanlis or to the Minister for Foreign Affairs Dora Bakoyannis).

⁴⁹⁴ It is interesting that: 1) this proposal was not presented in the mediator’s law office as usual, but in the UN Headquarters in New York; 2) this was the initial proposal by Robin O’Neil introduced back in 1993 for settlement of the dispute between Greece and Macedonia.

⁴⁹⁵ Actually, later on it was established that the “highest state authorities” had reached a compromise for the name change, according to the statement made by Mr. Laze Elenovski, a Minister for Defence at the time. The statement was given during a closed session of the management of NSDP political party.

* „**Republic of Skopja (Macedonia)**” (*Republika Skopje (Makedonija)*) – **2008 (Bucharest)** – (the last proposal from Greece presented in personal by the Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis, through the mediators on the NATO Summit in Bucharest, as a final chance for avoiding the announced Greek veto). The proposal was rejected by the Macedonian delegation describing it to be “inappropriate”.